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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Nancy Drexler, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Cheryl D. Walker.

\*Africa General

Gorman, Robert F. "Soviet Perspectives on the Prospects for Socialist Development in Africa." African Affairs, vol. 83, no. 331 (April 1984), pp. 163-87.

The evolution of Soviet historical perspectives on the development of socialism in Africa is discussed and the current thrust of Soviet thinking on various economic and political problems in Africa is summarized. The author concludes that ideology and practical political and economic interests have been interwoven with varying emphasis over time, but at no time could ideology be dismissed as a force which colors Soviet perceptions of Africa.

Mesa-Lago, Carmelo and Belkin, June S., eds. Cuba in Africa. Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh, 1982. 230 pp.

Cuban foreign policy in Africa has brought the country from a virtually nonexistent role in international affairs prior to the revolution to one of significance in the world arena today. This book attempts to answer the question: Has Cuban foreign policy in Africa been independent from, dependent upon, or mutually dependent with that of the Soviet Union? The response is found in the four major essays contained in the book, each with two commentaries by other authors. One conclusion is that "the economic, military, political and ideological facets of Cuban-Soviet relations have varied tremendously over the past two decades, and not always in harmony with one another." The book is excellent reading for a greater understanding of Cuba's historical ties with Africa and its contemporary involvement in the Horn and in Southern Africa.

Serfaty, Simon. "The Soviet Union in Africa: Realities and Limits." South Africa International, vol. 14, no. 1 (July 1983), pp. 311-19.

An examination of the scope of Soviet intervention in African affairs and of the limits beyond which the realities of such intervention become myths. Soviet support for the MPLA in Angola in 1975 marked the transformation of the Soviet Union into a vital player in African affairs, a role which extended into the Horn and impacted on Soviet-American and African-American relations. It is concluded that references to a "Soviet problem" or a "Cuban problem" in Africa are in part the consequence of an "American problem"--what many countries, including South Africa, see as America's unreliability.

Burkina Faso

"La Haute Volta du 4 Aout 1983 (Upper Volta since 4 August 1983)." Liberation Afrique-Caraibe-Pacifique, July-September 1984, pp. 4-10.

This article analyzes the Sankara regime. His coming to power is viewed as revolutionary because it marks a significant change from the "neo-colonial" governments of the past, but important groups in Burkina Faso both oppose

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as well as support change. Institutions with "progressive" and "conservative" factions include the army, political organizations, and labor unions. Their different positions on internal political and economic choices as well as foreign policy are described.

### Horn of Africa

Frost, John A. et al. "Soviet Assistance in the Horn of Africa: A Model for Potential United States Exploitation?" National Defence University, National War College, Washington DC. Strategic Study NDU/NWC 83-003, April 1983. 49 pp.

The authors examine and compare Soviet actions in Ethiopia and Somalia in order to determine whether the Soviets followed a similar pattern in the two countries. They show that the prevailing conditions immediately prior to intense Soviet activity were similar in each case and that the approach and actions taken by the Soviets were almost identical. The authors postulate that Soviet intervention in other Third World countries will likely follow the pattern seen in Somalia and Ethiopia. Based on this perceived pattern, they recommend several ways in which the United States could counteract further Soviet forays in the Third World.

### Kenya

Holman, Michael. "Kenya at the Crossroads." Financial Times, 19 September 1984, p. 1.

Highlights some of the political changes which have taken place in Kenya since the August 1982 coup attempt. Political power bases are shifting and there has been a striking change of mood in the government. The power of the office of the President has grown substantially. Secretary to the Cabinet Simon Nyachae appears to have become the number two figure after President Moi. Moi continues to make personnel changes and implement policies which erode Kikuyu hegemony. Some observers believe it is possible that by early next year the top three army positions may be in the hands of Kalenjins as a result of retirements and appointments. A greater sense of urgency and commitment among government economic planners today is also notable. Some of the development policies put forward as long as 6 years ago have finally been implemented.

### Lusophone Africa

Denny, Lesley M. "Portugal and Africa: The Consequences of Military Intervention." Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, vol. 129, no. 2 (June 1984), pp. 38-41.

An analysis of Portuguese military intervention in Africa which was the result of the development of a post-World War II liberal element within the officer corps which hoped to establish Portugal as an international power through its extensive colonial possessions. The most wellknown military

intervention was in Angola when in 1961, rebellion and massacres required a Portuguese Expeditionary Force to be sent to the colony, the first detachment of a vast colonial army which was to spread to Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

### Nigeria

Agbakoba, Olisa. "In Defence of National Security: An Appraisal of the Nigerian Intelligence System." Spectrum, January/February 1984, pp. 51-58.

Nigeria's position as the sub-Saharan country with the greatest potential for rapid economic development and industrialization underscores the importance of intelligence. This need is all the greater, in the author's view, in the face of the historical Western strategy of creating and preserving spheres of influence in Africa conducive to effective and unchallenged economic exploitation. He pinpoints areas in which Nigerian intelligence activities are deficient and suggests ways in which to improve them.

Barrett, Lindsay. "The Return of the Nigerian Military." West Africa, 9 July 1984, pp. 1394-95, 16 July 1984, pp. 1443-44, 23 July 1984, pp. 1488-89,, 30 July 1984, pp. 1529-31, 6 August 1984, pp. 1573-74.

In a five-part series, the author examines the origins and nature of military rule in Nigeria. The first part describes the factors within the armed forces and the politics of the Second Republic which led to the 31 December 1983 military intervention. In the second part, changes in the country's political climate between 1966 and 1975 are detailed. In the third part, the "Murtala/Obasanjo Era" from 1975 to 1979 is analyzed. The fourth part deals with the period since the 1983 military coup, and the last part concludes with an assessment of the Buhari Government.

Peel, Quentin. "Nigeria: Economic Options and Political Constraints." The World Today, June 1984, pp. 226-33.

An overview of the political and economic problems which have caused Nigeria's present difficulties. The author offers a number of suggestions to ease the country's current economic plight, including increased oil production, cutbacks in imports, and a comprehensive economic strategy. It would feature austerity measures along with a concentration on smaller scale development combined with compassionate policies to help people cope with economic realities.

### South Africa

Dodd, Norman L. "'Discendo Armenus', The Military Academy of the South African Defence Force." Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, vol. 129, no. 2 (June 1984), pp. 50-52.

Discusses the South African Military Academy at Saldanha Bay in the Western Cape which is part of the University of Stellenbosch. Currently approximately 200 students are enrolled at the Academy for a degree course which lasts three years. Looks at the degrees and courses offered and eligibility requirements for graduation. Article gives a good indication of the academic preparation given to officers of the SADF.

Gann, L.H. and Duigan, Peter. "The Cape Remains a Potential NATO Chokepoint." Defense Systems Review, June 1983, pp. 27-28.

Examines the international strategy of the Cape route for Soviet and NATO naval forces, emphasizing the importance of South Africa's repair facilities and technical capacity to ships carrying oil and strategic minerals which are vital to the West. South Africa's importance has grown as the Soviet Union has increased its naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Discusses the strategies which the United States and its allies may use to secure new and permanent facilities from which their ships and aircraft could operate.

Heitman, Helmoed-Romer. "The Role of the NCO in the SADF." Militaria, 13 April 1983, pp. 60-67.

Discusses the role of non-commissioned officers in the South African Defense Force with a guide to their importance in the everyday functioning of the armed forces. Details a career pattern for NCO's which would attract the right calibre of recruit and allow for a high degree of retention.

### Southern Africa

Copley, Gregory. "Where Lion Roam No More." Defense & Foreign Affairs, September 1984, pp. 8-11, 38.

Discusses the war in Southern Angola and Namibia with a tally of the number of troops fighting in the region, both foreign and indigenous. Examines closely the military capabilities and materiel of the Angolan forces, the South African forces, and SWAPO. Also discusses the importance of Angola to the maintenance of the Soviet Union's credibility in Africa.

### Tanzania

Nowozeniuk, Ihor. "Tanzania: Toward 20 Years of Unity." US Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA. Special Report ACN 83026, 1 June 1984. 21 pp.

Assesses Tanzania's current and nearterm problems and their potential for affecting political stability. The paper reviews Tanzania's history from colonial times and briefly describes its economic developments and foreign

relations. The author concludes that Tanzania's current economic crisis is so severe that some sort of significant political change in the near future is inevitable. He states that Nyerere might resign before his term is up in 1985 because "it will be difficult for him to deny failure of his system and then continue in office after his credibility is damaged." This expectation of a sudden and insurmountable loss in Nyerere's credibility does not seem entirely warranted. He survived the unpopularity of his villagization policy and the economic problems it created. Also, Nyerere does not have a rigid "system"--he has publicly acknowledged that mistakes have been made, saying Tanzania's course toward African Socialism is unchartered and some failures along the way are inevitable.